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THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII: A
— RIGHT AND A DUTY.

AN ADDRESS

BY

HON. HARRY BINGHAM, LL. D.

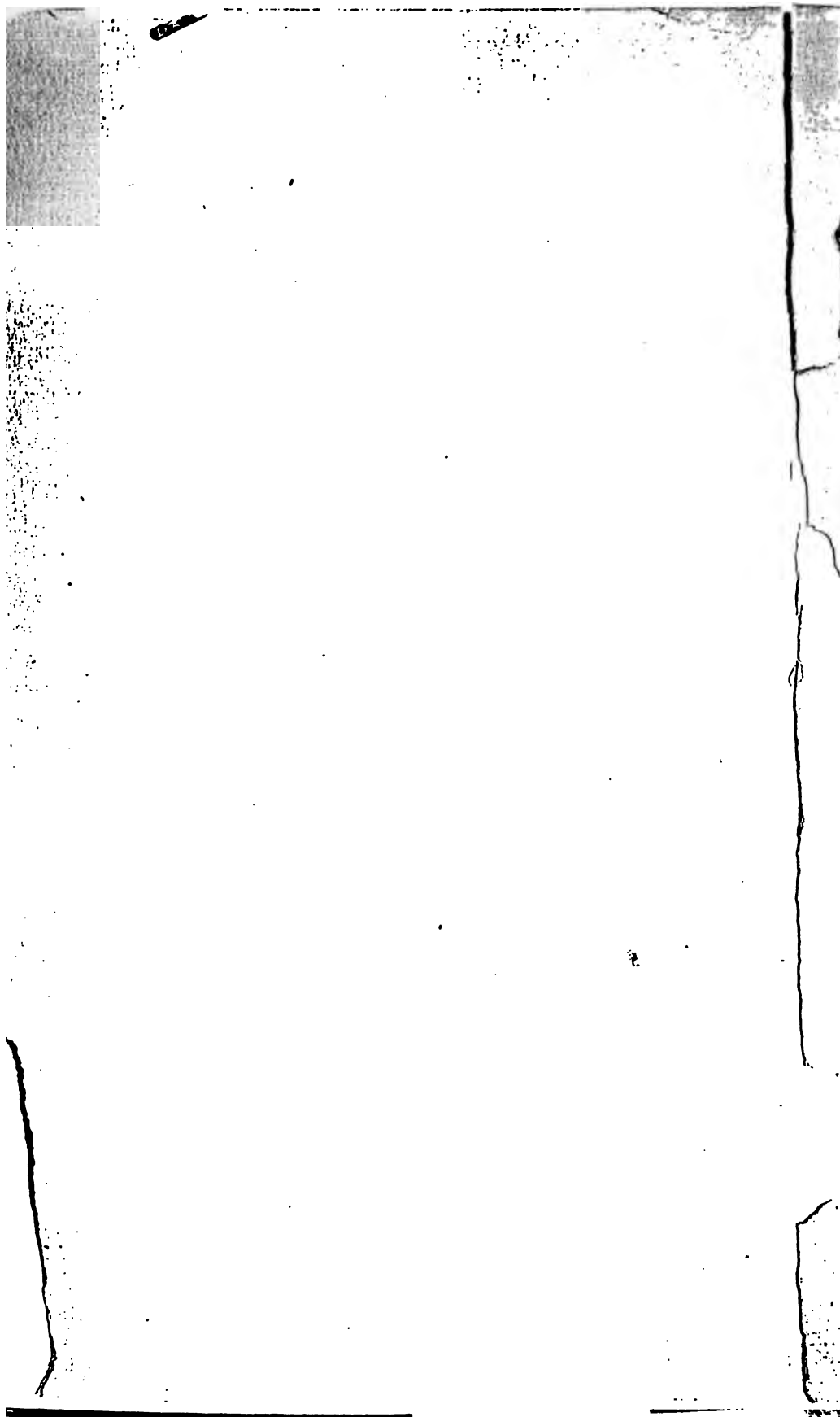
DELIVERED BEFORE THE

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AT

WOODSVILLE, N. H., JANUARY 28, 1898.

CONCORD, N. H.:
THE RUMFORD PRESS.
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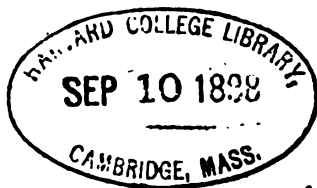
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THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII: A RIGHT AND A DUTY.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY

HON. HARRY BINGHAM, LL. D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Gentlemen of the Association :

Our fifteenth anniversary has arrived and we will now enter upon its exercises. I give you a cordial greeting and bid you welcome here, trusting that we are all devoutly thankful for the divine care and mercy that have sustained us during the year and brought us once more together.

I shall venture to address you upon the subject of Hawaiian Annexation, although I am aware that it is a subject about which there may be different opinions. I am convinced, however, that far-reaching consequences will affect our country for good or for ill accordingly as this subject is rightly or wrongly disposed of. Therefore I claim that we should study the subject, hear discussion upon it, and be prepared to give our influence, whatever it may be, in the right direction. Especially do I claim that upon questions of this character the bar should be prepared to advise and act understandingly, and that every American citizen with intelligence sufficient to comprehend his duty as such citizen should expand his ideas and extend his vision beyond the attainment of mere partisan advantages.

Some time ago I wrote a paper which discussed this ques-

tion and as it has not been published I propose to use it on the present occasion. There are some things in it which I might qualify or explain in the light of recent occurrences, but I am entirely content that the grounds there taken should remain as they are and be considered the record of my judgment both as to what the situation is and as to what ought to be done.

The subject of the paper to which I have referred is entitled "The Annexation of Hawaii: a Right and a Duty," and is discussed as follows:

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States is a matter that demands the serious consideration of the American people. It raises questions that ought not to be discussed and settled in a partisan spirit, but there should be honest inquiry and a judgment based upon conviction of what is just and for the good of all concerned. In view of the present situation and the past relations between those islands, this country, and other countries, it seems strange that any enlightened American citizen should be found opposed to their annexation. Such an opponent cannot stand on the ground that our national constitution does not authorize us to receive additional territory. The right of the Federal government to receive additions to its territories has been established by numerous precedents. Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, vast territories from time to time have been added to the United States. According to our laws and according to our national policy and practice, there can be no doubt that our government has the power to make a lawful acceptance of the proffered annexation. The offer is made to us by the government of Hawaii of its own motion, a government fully established and recognized by the United States and the other nations of the world as in the actual and rightful control of its people. The parties are competent to contract. It simply remains for us to accept or reject the offer, and in so doing to be governed by the duties we owe

to ourselves, to the Hawaiian people, and to the rest of the world. Those islands lie much nearer to us and our continent than they do to any other nation or continent. They belong to the American continent, and may properly be regarded as an appendage thereto. Steam and electricity make them comparatively near to our shores, and if the Nicaragua canal is built they will be still nearer. Their climate is salubrious and mild, with only a slight difference between the extremes of heat and cold. Their soil is rich, producing sugar-cane, coffee, rice, and tropical fruits in abundance. The sides of their mountains afford excellent pasturage. Their value for agricultural and grazing purposes simply would make their annexation a valuable addition to our territory. It is the testimony of competent engineers that those islands can be fortified easily, so as to be as impregnable to the assault of hostile navies as any of the numerous and costly fortifications which Great Britain has erected and maintains on the shores and islands of America. As a naval station for the defence of our Pacific coast, they would be invaluable. For many years last past this country has had a great and profitable trade with those islands. They are so far Americanized now that annexation will be but one step further, and the great emigration from this country thither which would immediately follow annexation soon would complete the work of their assimilation to our ways and institutions.

Ever since Hawaii became known to the civilized world our statesmen have contended that our interests there were paramount to those of all other nations, that we could not permit colonization or the exercise of control there by other countries, and that we favored the independence of the islands, but if their independence could not be maintained, then their ultimate destiny must be in our hands. To these contentions of our statesmen the world has yielded. We have practically controlled Hawaii for the last fifty years. Our missionaries have gone there, Christianized the natives,

and settled there. Our men of affairs have gone there, taken the lead in all important matters, and out of barbarism have created civilization. Hawaii has been justly called the key of the Pacific ocean, and as such key its value is apparent when we consider what a vast commerce in the future is sure to seek for itself a highway over the waters of that ocean. In that commerce our country ought to lead, and will if she is true to herself. The time has arrived when Hawaii, unable longer to endure without protection her isolated condition, has petitioned our government to be permitted to become a territory of the United States. The question is, Shall we grant this petition? It has already been shown that the annexation of Hawaii would be an acquisition of great value. It has been said that he who will not provide for his own household is worse than an infidel; and it may be added that the nation which will not look out for its own interests and make the welfare of its people as secure as possible is an imbecile and contemptible nation. In this age all nations except the United States are intent upon adding to their territories. Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia are searching the remotest corners of the earth, and grasping new territory wherever they can do so with impunity. Lesser nations, in a smaller way, are doing the same thing. The United States alone seems to hesitate about adding to herself new territories, however desirable they may be. If we do refuse to allow the rich, desirable, and important Hawaiian Islands permission to become a part of our territory, it will be an act of utter recklessness and indifference in respect to our interests as a nation and our welfare as a people. It is certain that our duty to ourselves requires us to accept this offer.

The next inquiry is, What are the duties we owe in this matter to the people of Hawaii and to the rest of the world?

Let us first consider our duty to the people of Hawaii. Their islands are situated where all the great nations of the world desire a foothold. They have stood alone and inde-

pendent until their position has grown so important that they realize they cannot stand alone any longer, and that they must ally themselves with some strong power. They have selected as that strong power the United States, the nearest to them of all nations, not only geographically but in every respect. They received from the United States Christianity and everything else that tends to distinguish them as they now are from the savages discovered by Captain Cook in 1778. Hawaii turns to the United States for protection as a child turns to its father. It is hard to conceive of a moral obligation stronger than the one that rests on us to accept this offer. All, or at least some, of the enemies of annexation say that "they never will consent that Hawaii should become a part of this country," and with the same breath they announce that "they will never permit any other nation to colonize or control it or be allied with it, and that, though weak and helpless, Hawaii must stand alone and independent." No reasonable man can consider such treatment of Hawaii as this to be humane and just. If the people of the United States have become indifferent to their own interests, and if they are determined to ignore all the claims that the people of Hawaii have upon them, then their only honest course is to say in response to this application, "No, we will not take you ; go seek protection elsewhere."

The importance of Hawaii as a coaling station for all the shipping of the Pacific ocean, whether commercial or naval, is obvious. In our hands the aid that it would afford us in protecting our extended Pacific coast, would be of immense value. In the hands of an enemy with a naval power, it would be a constant menace to us. Navies and armies could be safely congregated there for raiding the Pacific coast and for the invasion and occupation of our Pacific states. Mr. Blaine called Hawaii "the key of the Pacific ocean." These facts in the past have caused our secretaries of state, among whom were Daniel Webster, William

L. Marcy, and James G. Blaine, to declare in their official capacity that the United States has such an interest in Hawaii that she can never allow any other nation to colonize or control it; and now it is on account of these facts that the enemies of annexation are compelled to qualify their declaration that they will not consent that Hawaii should be annexed to this country, by the further declaration that she must not be colonized or controlled by any other country; that she must stand alone, independent, and guard the key of the Pacific unaided. In view of all the circumstances it is unnecessary to say that such a response actually made to the petition of Hawaii would be most unreasonable and brutal. It would undoubtedly result in compelling her to throw herself into the arms of some other power. Other powers know the value of Hawaii, and if they could get it would consider it a great acquisition. England would have taken possession of it long ago if our statesmen had not objected on the ground of our paramount interest. England has yielded to our claim and will make no objection if we accept the offer of annexation. But if we reject the offer and Hawaii then offers herself to England, England will surely accept. Our protests, grounded on paramount interests, will then be disregarded. England could then reply to us, when we made such protests, and say justly, "Your conduct shows that you have no such interest. These islands need protection and they asked you for it and you refused to give it. If you had any interest in the islands you abandoned it when you refused to give them protection. You cannot succeed in this dog-in-the-manger policy, refusing to do a thing necessary and proper to be done and prohibiting everybody else from doing it. Hawaii asked you for protection. You refused to give it. She now asks us for protection. We shall give it."

We may be assured that when we renounce Hawaii England will take it and hold us to our renunciation.

Japan, emerging from semi-barbarism and in the morning

twilight of her civilization, peering across the vast waters of the Pacific, sees and appreciates the importance of Hawaii. She construed the treatment that President Harrison's treaty of annexation received and the chivalrous course that President Cleveland took in behalf of the deposed queen to be evidence that the United States didn't care for Hawaii and would have nothing to do with it. In that view, Japan has caused her people to emigrate in great numbers to Hawaii with the evident purpose of obtaining ultimately the control of the islands. This purpose was so repugnant and became so patent to the Hawaiian government that it prohibited recently any further landing on its soil of emigrants from Japan. The inhabitants of Hawaii of American or European origin, and its inhabitants of aboriginal origin, who are all Christians, will not submit voluntarily to be governed and controlled by Japan whose people are still pagans and idolaters. There is little doubt that if we refuse to take Hawaii she will not go to Japan but she will tender herself to England and be accepted. Our country, then, in the eyes of all other countries will be estopped from making any objections and in our own eyes we shall be so estopped by every consideration of right and justice. The time has arrived when we must either accept the offer of Hawaii and annex it or repudiate the rights we have hitherto asserted over it and relinquish all claim to control its destiny.

The acquiescence of other nations heretofore in our exercise of control over the islands and in our asserted right to permanent control over them was a virtual contract on our part with those nations that we would continue permanently to maintain such control, and that they could deal with us thereafter for the accommodation which their commerce on the Pacific ocean might require at those islands. If we should reject the proffered annexation we shall not be able to do what the various nations of the world have a right to expect us to do for them. The acquisition of

Hawaii by England would give her another impregnable position near the shores of America from which she could easily assail and plunder our Pacific cities or land on our coasts an invading army.

Various objections have been urged against the annexation of Hawaii, all of which on investigation will be found to be either irrational or frivolous. It has been objected that the islands are too far out in the ocean and that it will cost us much labor and money to defend them. In reply we will call attention to what we have already shown, viz.: that Hawaii is of vast strategical importance; that it is the key of the Pacific ocean; that in our hands it is a point of infinite value for defence; and that in the hands of an enemy it is a point where he could aggregate his resources in security and with great facility raid or invade our Pacific states. Some of the opponents of annexation, when hard pushed for arguments, have assumed that the educated and Christian Hawaiian natives are not represented by their government and that they are opposed to having their country become a part of the United States. Appeals are made to the sympathies of the American people not to compel by superior force these contented and intelligent natives against their wishes to become citizens of our country. There is no evidence that the native Hawaiians are opposed to becoming such citizens; on the contrary, whatever their feelings may be towards their existing government, the evidence is that they favor annexation to the United States. All agree that these native Hawaiians are educated and intelligent. They know what their situation is and what it will be if they become American citizens. The assertion that they are really opposed to annexation to the United States is not only without proof but it is without the probability of truth.

Another objection is that we want no more territory; that if we take Hawaii it will be a precedent for taking Cuba and Canada, if they should be hereafter offered to us, and

that we want no more territory, however valuable it may be or however just and reasonable it may be that we should take it. This objection involves the consideration of matters of vital importance to the well being of our people. It is certainly important that a nation should keep open all the avenues in which its people can escape from inertia and sloth and get a training that develops their mental and physical powers and qualifies them to do effective work for the elevation and improvement of their country. Our commerce and shipping that once found their way over all the waters of the globe, that rivalled and threatened to surpass the commerce and shipping of Great Britain, are now gone. The schools of seamanship thus furnished kept the energies of our people alive, developed their brawn, intellect, and courage, and fitted them for valorous deeds. Our country was then full of hardy, brave, and patriotic seamen, but now it is with difficulty that seamen enough are found to man our infant navy. We have grown so much afraid of the salt water that in this age of steam, when in a little space of time oceans are crossed, our people are importuned to reject the annexation of islands belonging to our continent because they are a little way out at sea. Formerly our millionaires were merchants, such as Girard, Gray, and John Jacob Astor, who accumulated their millions by gigantic commercial enterprises carried on over the waters of the world. Now our millionaires accumulate their millions by creating gigantic monopolies and trusts and by wrecking railroads. The whaling business has been a great school for developing in our young men hardihood, daring, and energetic habits. That school also is closed, probably never to be opened again. Our people can hardly be said to carry on the fishing business with the vigor of former days. In fair competition they scarcely keep even with Canadian fishermen and seal-catchers. The whaling business died out by reason of inevitable changes. The tameness of our fishermen comes from our general decay in sea-

going energy. Our commerce and shipping have dwindled to their present impotent condition by reason of restrictive navigation laws and prohibitory tariffs. The only avenue now open that leads to what will preserve the energy and enterprise of our people and keep them in the line of national progress is the avenue that leads to new lands where by toil and hardship the wilderness can be subdued and in its stead civilization planted. This avenue, if no more territory is to be added to our national domain, is now also practically closed. The last of our good settling lands were taken up when Oklohoma was organized and opened up for settlement. The tremendous rush of stalwart humanity to get a foothold on the virgin soil of Oklohoma afforded a glimpse of the mighty forces that have made for us so many great and prosperous states out of what a little while ago was a howling wilderness. In the past the energy, muscle, and brains of the country cultivated, developed, and employed in whaling, in the fisheries, in ocean commerce, and in the settlement of new territories have made the United States a great and powerful nation. And now whaling being a dead industry, the fisheries in a decline, no prospect of a restoration of our lost commerce and shipping, and our lands suitable for settlement all taken, the opponents of Hawaiian annexation come to the front and say that there must not be any more territory annexed to the United States. If this interdict against more territory is established and the United States forever limited to their present boundaries, while existing conditions in other respects remain, then the sooner our people cease their activities, retire within their shells and go to seed, the better. When a nation closes up all its avenues that lead to enterprise and progress, it has made preparation for death, and thereafterwards the sooner it passes to inertia and sloth and suffers itself quietly to be consumed by dry rot, the easier it will sink into nonentity and be forgotten. In such a case, however, energetic habits that can find no legitimate vent will

be liable to break out in criminal disorder and hurry the nation's death by rioting, havoc, and destruction. Already so many of the avenues in which our national energies have operated hitherto have been either closed or obstructed that symptoms of decay and disorder thereby occasioned have been manifested. There has been a falling off among our people in the reliance that the individual has upon himself. There is a growing disposition to seek paternal aid from the government. The capitalist embarked in a business venture, wants legislation that will insure him his profits. The farmer asks the government to loan him money with which to lift his mortgage. Recently an army recruited from the unemployed and headed by General Coxey marched on Washington, demanding of Congress that it should enact measures which would give them employment. Discontent and uneasiness, generated by idle energies, pervade the multitude. It is certain that this country will fall into premature decay and wither away long before it has reached its prime, unless the forces that have built it up to its present magnitude are kept employed. We must not heed the voice that says, "Let us stop here, keep what we have got, and proceed no farther." We cannot stand still. We must advance or we shall certainly retrograde. Any lullaby about feasting on what we have and working no more is luring us to destruction. We have only one alternative. We must either advance on the lines that Washington, Jefferson, and our great statesmen have marked out and on which we have hitherto proceeded or fall back amid shame, disorder, and misery, and take the road that leads to final extinction.

The age of our country is a little more than a century. Comparatively speaking, England is very old, whether her age is reckoned from the withdrawal of the Roman legions and the Anglo-Saxon occupation in the fifth century or from the Norman conquest in the 11th century; yet through all the ages of her national existence she has constantly been

augmenting her energies by keeping them actively employed, and to-day she is more aggressive and progressive than ever before. England commenced her career as a nation with a section of the island of Great Britain. In the course of time she annexed Wales and Ireland by conquest, and Scotland by treaty. She has extended her empire by conquest over almost half of the continent of North America. She has conquered and maintains dominion over the immense empire of India. She holds undisputed sway over innumerable islands scattered everywhere, lying in all the waters and zones of the globe and varying in size from an island of continental dimensions with millions of square miles down to an island containing but a few acres. England possesses more or less territory on all the grand divisions of the globe and she boasts with truth that the sun never sets on her dominions. She is never scrupulous about the right when she can take with impunity. She colonizes all her territories that are vacant, or only roamed over by savage tribes, and English speaking people are rapidly multiplying throughout her dominions. She has torn down all the barriers to trade that she has ever erected, and urges trade on everybody. All the known avenues of trade are kept wide open and search for new ones is constantly made. The activities and energies of her merchants, cultivated and developed by their vast opportunities, have monopolized the commerce of the world and extended their traffic into the remotest seas and to all land. Trade vigilantly sought after and prosecuted everywhere and colonization of all parts of the earth steadily carried on, have fostered the spirit of enterprise in the British people and caused them continually to grow in hardihood, vigor, and intelligence. The same forces that have enabled modern England to surpass her former self in bold seamanship, daring adventure, and brilliant exploits have developed and strengthened the intellect of her people and given her energetic, far-seeing statesmen. Englishmen know and

cherish the sources of their greatness. They also appreciate their faithful servants and treat with due respect the rulers who dignify and give character to the nation. Witness the honors recently paid to their very worthy queen.

England is not cited as an example for our imitation, but as an example for us to study and by such study to be profited. She has kept open every avenue where it was possible for her people to find employment, and as a consequence her people have always been characterized by thrift and industry, her laborers contented and her soldiers brave. Her navies control the seas, her merchants hold the commerce of the world, and her cabinet is ruled by strong, brainy men. The example of England teaches us what we ought and what we ought not to do. It teaches us that we ought to open up to our people all the avenues to employment of which we can obtain rightful control, and on the other hand it teaches us to shun the wrongs of England in seizing territory without right and extending trade by undue means. The lesson taught us by the example of England ought also to teach us to realize what supreme folly it would be for us to refuse the offer of a territory which we can rightfully take, and which is of great value to us, not only for its intrinsic worth, but for its position and the security its possession would afford our country.

It has been asserted that if Hawaii was made a territory of the United States it could not be governed, that Congress has not power to govern it as a territory, and that it is not fit to be made a state. This assertion is the assertion of one who either wilfully misstates or is grossly misinformed. Congress is authorized expressly by the constitution to govern the territories and has always exercised that power with perfect submission thereto ever since the government was organized. It has used its strong arm whenever necessary for the preservation of wholesome rule in the territories. In Utah it uprooted and abolished polygamy, planted and defended there by the stubborn power

of religious fanaticism. Christianity was introduced into Hawaii two or three generations ago, and the living descendants of its aboriginal inhabitants have been reared and trained as christians. They can read and write and are of a peaceable, law-abiding disposition. The Chinese and Japanese now resident in Hawaii are mere laborers, and if the United States laws are extended over it their further immigration will be restricted. A slight consideration shows the absurdity of the claim that Congress, with its ample powers, will find any difficulty in governing Hawaii, because of a small civilized remnant of the aborigines, or on account of a few laborers from China and Japan. The further fact that Congress would not be authorized to admit Hawaii as a state, until in its judgment she was fit to become a member of our family of states, ought to quiet all apprehension of any bad result from her annexation. Fears have been expressed that our country is extending its boundaries too far for safety, as it respects external defense and internal harmony. The only mode of determining whether or not such fears are well grounded, is to canvass without prejudice the situation as it is. In regard to external defense there can be no reasonable apprehension that any nation of the western hemisphere can make a dangerous assault upon us. We have reason to fear danger from Europe and possibly from Japan. We cannot avoid anxiety so long as European fortresses like Esquimaux and Bermuda, bristling with cannon are seen along the coasts and on the islands of America. There will be reasonable ground to fear European encroachments until both the Americas and the islands appertaining to them are freed from European dominion. When the nations of the western world possess all its mainland and islands, our country will be reasonably secure from either European or Asiatic invasion. History shows that evolutionary changes among nations are constantly going on, that their territorial limits are changed, that new nations are formed and old

nations transformed, or wiped out altogether. It is not impossible or even improbable that the time is not far distant, when the several territories belonging to the independent nations of the western hemisphere will embrace the entire American continent and its islands, freed from all claim of either European or Asiatic domination. The statesmen of all the different countries of America, recognizing the common interest in such a consummation, while observing all their obligations may be expected to acquiesce with satisfaction in events that tend toward establishing the independence of any American country now subject to European power. It is not to be expected that their statesmen will put any obstacles in the way of those evolutionary changes which tend to emancipate the entire western hemisphere from monarchic and despotic rule. We cannot refuse to annex territory when we thereby strengthen ourselves and bless the people we take, and when we also spread republican institutions, and make the external defenses of our own and all other American republics more secure.

As it respects the suggestion that a further annexation of territory to the United States will destroy internal harmony and pave the way for a disruption of the federal union, a consideration of the character of our government shows that this objection does not rest upon a good foundation. A consolidated government, extending over a vast area, and embracing a great variety of climate and production can be administered only with great difficulty and will be liable to fall to pieces at any moment. No such thing as liberty can exist in a broad empire containing a variety of different conditions as respects climate, people, and production, if it is governed absolutely in all matters throughout its entire boundaries by a central power. In such a case the governing power in order to be effective must be a despotism, stern and relentless, and even then its hold will be precarious. The people will hate it and revolution will always be immi-

ment. Its extension over more territory will render its hold still more precarious. The government of the United States is a government of a character altogether different. The federal government is the central power, and its authority is limited to matters that concern all the states alike, such as declaring war, making treaties, and regulating commerce, while each state is in full control of all its local and domestic matters. The federal government can command the entire resources of the country in its defense and in the maintenance of its honor. The several states, each independent of the other, as sovereign states, exercise all the powers appertaining to government except the powers delegated to the United States. The people of each state are left to govern themselves by themselves and for themselves in all matters of local concern, and in all those matters about which the citizen takes cognizance in his daily life. Our people are free, attached to their government, and are resolved to maintain it. No government on earth is stronger than ours. Our government will remain strong and our people will be free just so long as the federal powers and the reserved powers of the states are each exercised in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. The federal union, by its delegated powers, protects the nation from foreign aggression and secures the general welfare. The states by their reserved powers protect the people from the tyranny of centralization and secure individual liberty. The federal union has not been weakened by the vast territories acquired and the many new states that have been admitted into it since its formation. On the contrary without doubt it has been strengthened thereby, and, but for these acquisitions, might not now be in existence. In a union embracing a great many different states, each with its peculiar views and interests, a common ground of disaffection is not likely to exist over states enough to inaugurate a successful rebellion. So long as our union answers the purposes for which it was created, all parts of it will be attached to it, and will

render it substantial support. The more extensive it is, the more powerful will it be, and the greater will be the difficulty that designing men will have in making combinations sufficient to overthrow it or even endanger it. New states might be admitted into our union until the whole continent of North America is embraced within its limits, with good results, provided that such additional new states contain a population who appreciate its blessings and are devoted to its maintenance. Congress, to the extent of its constitutional authority, could legislate for the union, limited only by the boundaries of North America, just as well as it can legislate for the union as it is now bounded. All the states, both old and new, could exercise their reserved powers, each in its own way, and render due obedience to the general government just the same, whatever the territorial limits of the union might be. It is not suggested that we go on annexing territory indiscriminately without considering the character of the annexations we make, but it is intended to be asserted that our government and institutions are such that they can be extended over additional territory without impairing their successful operation, and that the admission of new states into the union until it reaches far beyond its present limits will give strength and not weakness to the body politic. It is further intended to be asserted that we need additional territory in order that our people may find the employment and get the discipline necessary for the development, strengthening, and preservation of their energies, and in order that our progress as a nation may not be arrested.

Hawaii is offered to us under such circumstances that we can rightfully accept it. All of our people agree that it is of great importance to us, that our interest in it is paramount to that of any other nation, and that we must not lose control of it or suffer it to pass into the possession of any other power. We know that other powers are desirous of possessing it, and but for their recognition of our right, some of

them would have taken possession of it long ago. We know that Hawaii is utterly unable to protect itself, and for us, in view of all the circumstances that surround the question, to refuse this offer would be something worse than folly,—it would be madness.

It has been objected that the annexation of Hawaii will require us to augment our navy and to become a strong naval power. This objection assumes that if we do not annex Hawaii, we shall not need an augmented navy and will never have occasion to become a strong naval power. Nothing can be further from the truth than this assumption. The nations of the world are vying with each other in the construction of monster iron-clad ships, armed with all the terrific modern implements of destruction. To-day a nation is feared and rated as a power of the first, second, third, fourth, or fifth magnitude, or of no magnitude at all, according to the number and size of the iron-clad ships she can put into immediate and effective service. If the United States desires to maintain herself in the eyes of the world as a strong power she must have a strong navy. In this age, neither population nor wealth nor anything counts towards creating a wholesome respect for a nation that is without a strong navy. Already all the leading nations of the globe except our own are armed and prepared for war with iron-clad ships and engines of destruction not known or dreamed of in any former age. Years of labor and skill have been expended in constructing and perfecting each one of these ships and engines. The best intellects have been constantly employed in the invention and improvement of instruments of havoc and death. England, France, Germany, and Russia have already partitioned and divided between themselves the great continent of Africa, the islands of Polynesia, and the largest part of the vast continent of Asia. Soon that part of Asia not now thus disposed of will be appropriated in like manner, and then those nations will be ready to give their undivided attention to the American continent. When that time

arrives and they proceed to partition, divide, and appropriate to themselves the American continent, what will become of the Monroe doctrine? What can we do or say about it? Unless we then possess a powerful navy, the Monroe doctrine will be heard of no more, and we can do nothing nor say anything that will be heeded. South America, the West India islands, Central America, and Mexico will be disposed of easily, and our rich cities and prosperous states will furnish luxurious feasting where the territorial gormandizers of Europe can gorge themselves with impunity.

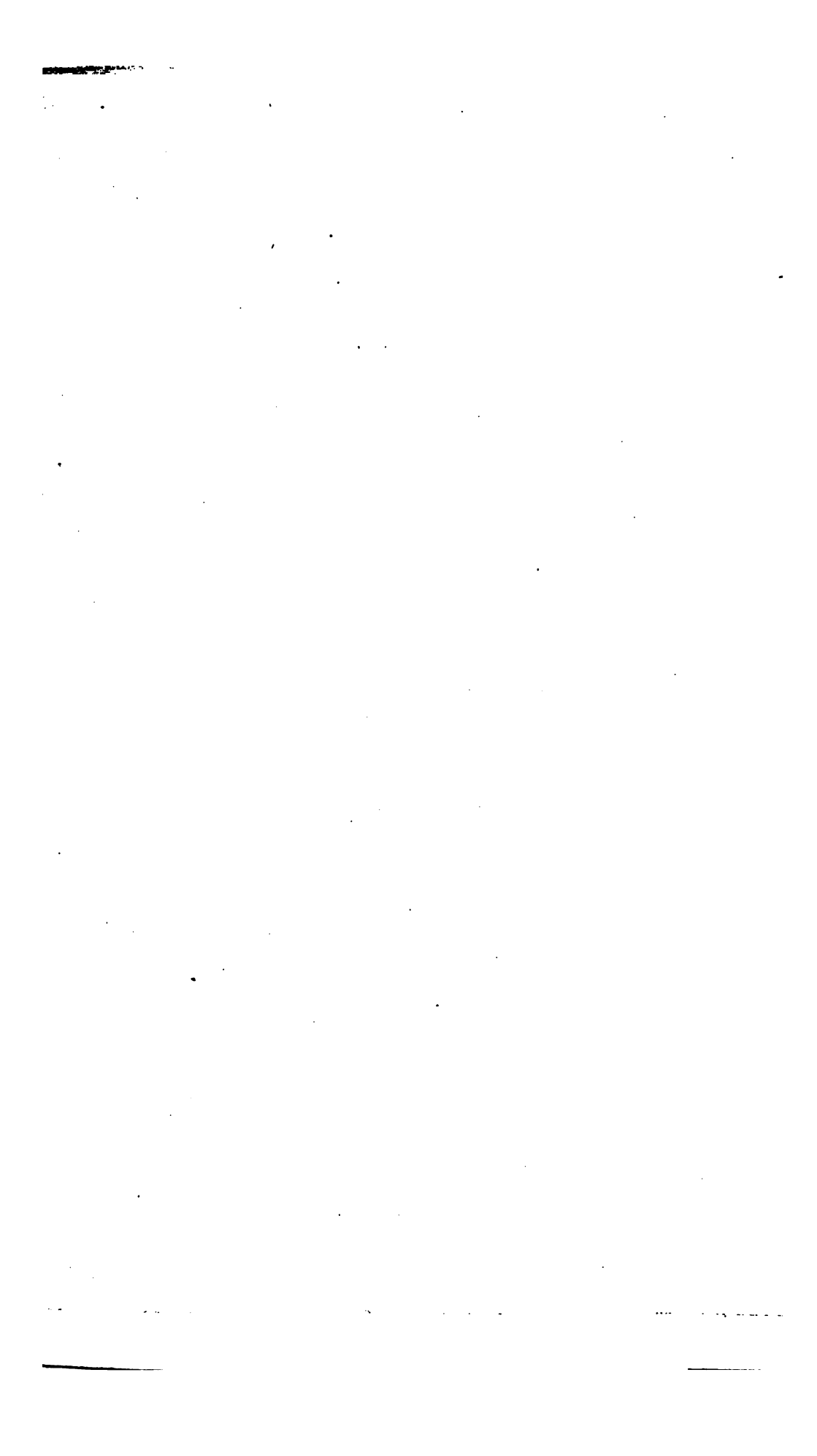
But upon the other hand, let the United States then possess a powerful navy, and Hawaii well fortified, with reasonable protection for our Atlantic coast, the Monroe doctrine will be respected. We shall be safe in the enjoyment of our national independence, have a standing among the nations of the earth, and be able to exercise a wholesome influence upon the world.

It is idle to deny what is plainly indicated by the signs of the times. The tremendous and continuous rivalry among nations, every one striving with all its might to be foremost in the magnitude of its preparation for war has a meaning. It is not fun, it is business. It means that this immense preparation is to be utilized, and that either with or without the actual clash of arms the nations that are prepared for war are going to dominate and control all nations and people that are not so prepared. A numerous population and vast wealth without corresponding protection will invite the invader. Whether we annex Hawaii or refuse so to do, it is certain that our standing in the world cannot be maintained in the future nor our national existence be secure except we possess a strong navy.

It is also certain for reasons already given that the annexation of Hawaii would greatly augment the national prestige and security that a strong navy would give us, and at the same time add much to the efficiency and usefulness of such a navy in guarding our coasts.

There is another objection to the annexation of Hawaii, coming from that part of the country which has engaged or proposes to engage in the cultivation of the sugar beet. It is claimed that the great amount of cane sugar that Hawaii would produce if annexed would ruin the sugar beet industry. The miserably selfish few who make this objection admit in the very terms in which they make it that they are clamoring in behalf of an insignificant interest of their own against the welfare of the whole country. They denounce the measure because they fear it will enable the American people to get their sugar from their own territory at a low cost and thereby diminish the chances for profits in the sugar beet experiment. As a reason for opposing annexation, they assign a strong reason for its consummation. The patriot for his country's good will sacrifice his private advantages. The man who will injure his country to profit his private interests and the traitor are made of the same stuff. For self either will sell his country. At all events the worth of a citizen who for selfish considerations will sacrifice the welfare of his country may be estimated at a low figure, and it may be safely calculated that those who oppose the annexation of Hawaii are either ignorant of the situation or on account of some selfish motive are hostile to the general good. Perhaps after all we ought not to be surprised because the proposition to annex Hawaii meets with opposition.

Judging by the past, we must expect some opposition however strong in favor of annexation the case may be. It will be remembered that there were Tories in the American Revolution, and that ever since our national existence began down to the present time we have had those among us who have clamored violently against the adoption of every measure, which, when adopted, has contributed to the growth and prosperity of the country.









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